instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nueveo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čači/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /ténde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

The /únʸi/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása únʸi/ may become the chief upon the death of the /únʸi/ provided the eldest son of the /únʸi/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /únʸi/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /únʸi/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shapes of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ũnʸi/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalenas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalenas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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been met during the Christmas *fiesta*. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ũnʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other *fiesteros* including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ũnʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ũnʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a *brujo* from *Zapallo Grande*, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the *fiesta* were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /čá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Heverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [*just cousin*] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

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In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Ines Cisarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Démian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Démian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Ines for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Politico, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Damian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Politico into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. None [illegible] marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Damian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camronez. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. (Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.) Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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> woman received twenty-five strokes . . . while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished (Barrett 1925:402-407).

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By sheer determination, the culprit placed himself in a position where the chief was unable to cope with him and, in effect, the man was "permitted" to desert his family. His determination had placed him ultra vires [literally, beyond the power] vis à vis the chief and the law. The chief had gone as far as he could with the man, and finally, he could do no more than lose his temper. Barrett records that the culprit later left with his paramour, after she had been delivered in marriage to another.

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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